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A SHORT
VIEW OF THE STATUTES

AT PRESENT
IN FORCE IN SCOTLAND
AGAINST

P O P E R Y : 3939.2.2

THE
NATURE OF THE BILL

PROPOSED TO BE BROUGHT INTO
PARLIAMENT for REPEALING these STATUTES:

AND

SOME REMARKS showing the PROPRIETY and NECES-
SITY of opposing such REPEAL.

WITH

A FEW HINTS on the CONSTITUTIONAL and PRU-
DENT MODE of OPPOSITION.

*Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt : Thou hast cast out the
Heathen, and planted it. Thou preparedst room before it, and
didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills
were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof
were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs unto the
sea, and her branches unto the river. Why hast thou then bro-
ken down her hedges, so that all they which pass by the way do
pluck her ? The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the
wild beast of the field doth devour it. Return, we beseech thee,
O God of hosts : Look down from heaven, and behold and visit
this vine, and the vineyard which thy right hand hath planted.
PSALM lxxx. 8, &c.*

EDINBURGH:
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TO THE PUBLIC.

THE present is not a seditious or a party pamphlet. It is a state of unquestionable facts, which every inhabitant of Scotland ought at this time to know. The Publishers are a number of Gentlemen in Edinburgh; friends to religion in the world in general, to the Protestant interest in these lands in particular;—loyal subjects of their Sovereign,—sincere lovers of their country and its dearest rights. They mean no reflection against the King, Parliament, or administration: All they contend for is, That the present most excellent constitution in church and state may be preserved, and may be handed down to posterity, as free and uncorrupted, as sound and vigorous, as safe and guarded, as they have received it from their ancestors.

The late alarming encouragement given to Popery in England, and the still more alarming unanimity with which it was granted by the legislature, and acquiesced in by the nation, must have struck grief and terror into the mind of many a serious Christian who was not himself to feel the consequences. Then we mourned in silence, and trembled for our brethren. We could do no more.—The same encouragement is now proposed for this part also of the united kingdom. And shall we still be silent? Have we already forgotten the days of our *forefathers*, and the sufferings which they endured from the hand of Papists? Can we, without uneasiness for *ourselves*, again receive these instruments of cruelty into our bosom? And are we altogether unconcerned for what may be the fate of generations *yet unborn*? No surely. Though we are dege-

degenerate, we are not come to this. But many, too too many, are at ease in Zion, and say, we start at a shadow; we fear the phantom of our own imagination. Read the following pages before you thus determine. "We speak as unto wise men, judge ye what we say." If our countrymen and fellow-citizens, for whose information these are printed, see their danger, and e'er it be too late take proper measures to prevent it, we shall have gained our end. At any rate, we have so far done our duty, and we leave the rest to heaven.

A SHORT VIEW of the SCOTS STATUTES against POPERY.

FROM the memorable year 1560, when the reformed religion was established in Scotland by law, down to the year 1707, when the kingdoms of Scotland and England were united, and of consequence the Scots parliament no more subsisted; during all that period the statutes against Popery and Papists are almost as numerous as the parliaments by which they were enacted. Many of these statutes are *simple ratifications*, most of them are *partial amendments*, and some of them seem even to have been *temporary provisions*, suited only to particular circumstances, which then required the interposition of the legislature. They all contain most authentic evidence of the continual dangers in which this country hath been involved from the encouragement of Papists, and impunity of seminary priests and Jesuits, who were always reckoned the inveterate enemies, both of its religious and civil rights; and they show the unremitting attention which government saw necessary to keep them within any tolerable bounds. In these particulars they may give instruction, as well as entertainment to the studious and inquisitive; a list of them is therefore added, but this publication cannot admit of more. There is one *complete and perpetual* statute, viz. the third act of K. William's first parliament, 23d Nov. 1700, entitled, *An act for preventing the growth of Popery*, which comprehends all the material laws upon the subject. And as it is the chief object of the proposed repeal, the knowledge of it alone is fully sufficient for the present purpose.

List of all the acts against Popery,—24th Aug. 1560:
 —1567. c. 2.—1567. c. 3.—1567. c. 5.—1572. c. 45.
 —1572. c. 47.—1572. c. 51.—1579. c. 71.—1581.
 c. 104.—1581. c. 106.—1587. c. 24.—1587. c. 25.—
 1592.

1592. c. 122.—1593. c. 196.—1594. c. 197.—1600. c. 18.—1607. c. 1.—1609. c. 2.—1609. c. 5.—1661. c. 8.—1681. c. 6.—1689. c. 7.—1689. c. 13.—1695. c. 26.—1696. c. 3.—1696. c. 28.—1700. c. 3.—1702. c. 3.—1703. c. 2.—1704. c. 3.—1707. c. 6.—1707. c. 7.

COPY of the material parts of King WIL- LIAM'S ACT.

Act for preventing the growth of Popery, 23d Nov. 1700,

“ Our Sovereign Lord considering the *hazard that*
 “ *threatens the true Protestant religion* as at present set-
 “ tled and established within this realm, and may en-
 “ sue by the increase and growth of Popery, and the
 “ *restoring and resetting of Jesuits, priests and trafficking*
 “ *Papists* within the same; doth therefore, with advice
 “ and consent of the estates of parliament, revive, ra-
 “ tify and *perpetually confirm* act 71. parl. 1579. anent
 “ the youth and others beyond sea, suspected to have
 “ declined from the true religion. Also, act 104.
 “ parl. 1581. against passing in pilgrimages to chapels,
 “ wells, crosses, &c. And act 26. parl. 1695. discharg-
 “ ing popish persons to *prejudge their Protestant heirs*
 “ in succession; and all other laws made against Po-
 “ pery and Papists; and *especially Jesuits, seminary*
 “ *and mass priests and trafficking Papists*, and their a-
 “ bode, and reset or resetters within this realm; as
 “ also, against *sayers and bearers of mass*, and all other
 “ concealers of the same; in the whole heads, tenors
 “ and contents thereof, as if the same were therein
 “ fully set down and exprest.

“ And further, his Majesty, with advice and consent
 “ foresaid, statutes and ordains, That whosoever shall
 “ discover and seize any *priest, Jesuit or trafficking Pa-*
 “ *pist*, or their resetters, so as they shall be *convicted*;
 “ upon certificate of the said seizure and conviction
 “ by the judge or clerk of court, before whom the con-
 “ viction shall be made (and which certificate to be
 “ given gratis) shall have the sum of five hundred merks,

“ over

“ over and above his expences for his reward.—And
 “ ordains all judges and magistrates to whom the *said*
 “ Papist shall be presented, to receive and detain him
 “ prisoner; and transmit what information they receive
 “ against him to his Majesty’s advocate. And because
 “ such is the *malice and subtilty of the said Jesuits,*
 “ *priests and trafficking Papists,* that they disguise them-
 “ selves, and cover their *evil practices* as much as pos-
 “ sible, and through the difficulty of probation, do of-
 “ ten evade the due pains of law; therefore, it is fur-
 “ ther statute and ordained, for facilitating the foresaid
 “ conviction, that if it shall be proven that *the priest,*
 “ *Jesuit, or trafficking Papist,* brought in question, was
 “ held and repute to be a priest, Jesuit, or trafficking
 “ Papist; or if it shall be proven that he has *changed*
 “ *his name* or surname, and goes under another name,
 “ and with one or other of these alternatives shall *refuse*
 “ *to purge himself* of Popery, in the form and manner
 “ after mentioned, it shall be *sufficient ground* for the
 “ Lords of his Majesty’s privy council *, to *banish* him
 “ furth of the realm, with certification, that if ever he
 “ return thereto, being *still a Papist,* he shall be punish-
 “ ed with the pain of *death* †.—And his Majesty’s ad-
 “ vocate, on information, is *required* as he will be an-
 “ swerable, to prosecute persons suspected to be *Jesuits,*
 “ *priests or trafficking Papists,* and the privy council to
 “ inflict the said punishment.

“ And for the *better conviction of hearers of mass,* it is
 “ further statute and ordained, That if any person be
 “ found in any *meeting* ‡ where there is either *altar,*
 “ *mass-*

* This act is now to be executed by the Lords of Justiciary,
 12th *Anne* 2. c. 13.

† This certification is common and unavoidable in all banish-
 ments to make them effectual. And the punishment of death is
 not so much for the original crime, otherwise it would have been
 inflicted at first, as for the contempt of the law, and sentence
 which orders the banishment.

‡ Meeting here evidently means Meeting-house, chapel, or
 public place of worship.

“ *mass-book, or vestments, or Popish images, or other Po-*
 “ *pish trinkets or instruments of superstition, and withal*
 “ *shall refuse to purge himself of Popery in manner after-*
 “ *mentioned, it shall be a sufficient ground for the lords*
 “ *of his Majesty’s privy council, to banish him furth of*
 “ *the realm, under what certification, they shall think*
 “ *fit, even to the pain of death—And whosoever shall*
 “ *discover or seize the said banished priest after his re-*
 “ *turn, and deliver him prisoner in manner foresaid,*
 “ *shall have the sum of fifty marks for his reward.*

“ And his Majesty, with advice and consent foresaid,
 “ doth hereby not only ratify act 8th, parl. 1661, in-
 “ titled, *Act against Papists, priests and Jesuits*, and ap-
 “ pointing children under Popish parents, tutors and
 “ curators to be taken from them, and committed to
 “ the education of some *well-affected religious* kinsman,
 “ at the *sight and order* of his Majesty’s privy council;
 “ but further declares, that it shall be competent to
 “ any of the Protestant relations of the foresaid children
 “ to pursue to have their education committed in man-
 “ ner above prescribed; and that failing the said Pro-
 “ testant relations, his Majesty’s *advocate or solicitor*
 “ may prosecute the said action by themselves, without
 “ concurrence of said relations.—And to the effect,
 “ that the foresaid matter of education may be better
 “ seen to, his Majesty and estates of parliament recom-
 “ mend to the *presbyteries* within the kingdom, to send
 “ in *termly* lists and informations to one of the clerks of
 “ his Majesty’s privy council, of what children are un-
 “ der popish parents, tutors, curators, or other Papists
 “ within their respective bounds, that their education
 “ may be provided for, as said is.

“ And further, for the better restraining of the fore-
 “ said *pernicious growth of Popery*, his Majesty, with advice
 “ and consent foresaid, doth hereby statute, ordain and
 “ declare, that in all time coming, no *professed Papists*,
 “ who being suspect thereof, shall refuse to purge them-
 “ selves of Popery, in the form and manner after set
 “ down,

“ down, shall be capable to *purchase* and enjoy, by any
 “ voluntary disposition or deed that shall be made to
 “ them, or any person *in trust* to their behoof, any
 “ *lands, houses, tenements, annualrents, or other real*
 “ *rights*, or tacks of lands or teinds; but that the said
 “ voluntary dispositions and deeds, with all that shall
 “ follow thereupon, shall *eo ipso* become void and null
 “ to all intents and purposes, and the rights thereof re-
 “ main with the disponent or granter, his heirs or as-
 “ signees, as if the same had not been granted.

“ And likewise, his Majesty, with advice and consent
 “ foresaid, statutes, enacts and declares, That no per-
 “ son or persons *professing* the popish religion, past the
 “ *age of fifteen years*, shall hereafter be capable to suc-
 “ *ceed as heirs* to any person whatsoever, nor to bruick
 “ or enjoy any estate by disposition or other convey-
 “ ance, flowing from any person to whom the said Pa-
 “ pist might succeed as heir any manner of way, until
 “ the said *heirs purge themselves* of Popery in manner
 “ after mentioned. And if any such person or persons
 “ omit to renounce Popery as aforesaid, then and im-
 “ mediately thereafter, their right and interest in and
 “ by the said succession or conveyance shall become
 “ void and null, and shall devolve and belong to the
 “ *next Protestant heir or heirs*, who would succeed if
 “ they and all the intervening popish heirs were na-
 “ turally dead:—Which Protestant heir or heirs
 “ shall have right to the said estate, and profits, and
 “ mails and duties thereof, from the incurring of the
 “ irritancy, *ay and while* the foresaid person or persons
 “ excluded, or their heirs, shall purge themselves of
 “ Popery, in manner foresaid; in which case they
 “ shall be *immediately reponed* to their right and posses-
 “ sion of the estate.—Providing always, that the said
 “ exclusion shall be *without prejudice* to their lawful cre-
 “ ditors anterior to the exclusion only.—And further,
 “ it shall not be lawful to any Papist to grant any gra-
 “ *tuitous dispositions of his heritage*, or any part thereof;
 “ or any gratuitous bond, or other gratuitous deeds,

“to the *prejudice of his heirs*: Declaring all such dispositions, bonds, or other deeds, to be void and null, *excepting* in so far as concerns his person and *moveable estate* alienably;—and the proper debt and deeds of the Protestant heir or heirs succeeding as aforesaid, shall *no ways affect* the foresaid estate; but the same shall *return in the condition* as it was at the time the succession devolved to the Protestant.—And all estates whatsoever devolved in manner, and for the causes foresaid, shall be with and *under the tailzies, conditions, irritancies, and clauses* resolute contained in the rights of the said estate.

“All dispositions, donations, legacies, or other deeds in *favours of cloysters*, or any other popish societies, or to any persons for their behoof, shall be void and null.—No *adjudication* shall expire in the person of a Papist, but only subsist for a *security* of the sums truly due.

“And lastly, for preventing all occasion of *seduction by Papists*, no person professed or suspected to be a Papist shall be *capable* to be employed in the *education of youth*, or the trust or management of their affairs; and *especially*, that none such shall be capable to be *governors, chaplains, pedagogues or school-masters*, tutors or curators, chamberlains or factors;—nor shall any Papist be entertained as a domestic servant by any Protestant.”

Formula of the oath referred to in this act.

I ————— do sincerely from my heart profess and declare before God who searcheth the heart, that I do deny, disown and abhor these tenets and doctrines of the papal church of Rome, *viz.* The *supremacy* of the pope and bishop of Rome over all pastors of the Catholic church; his power and authority over kings, princes and states, and the *infallibility* that he pretends to, either without or *with a general council*; his power of *dispensing* and *pardoning*, the doctrine

doctrine of *transubstantiation* and the corporal presence, with the communion *without the cup* in the sacrament of the Lord's supper : The *adoration* and *sacrifice* professed and practised by the popish church in the *mass*, the *invocation of angels and saints*, the *worshipping of images*, crosses and relicts, the doctrine of *supererogation*, *indulgencies* and *purgatory*, and the service and worship in an *unknown tongue* ; all which tenets and doctrines of the said church, I believe to be contrary to and inconsistent with the written word of God ; and I do from my heart deny, disown and disclaim the said doctrines and tenets of the church of Rome, as in the presence of God, without any equivocation or mental reservation, but according to the known and plain meaning of the words as to me offered and proposed. *So help me God.*

NATURE of the proposed BILL for repealing the SCOTS ACTS against POPERY.

When the bill for repealing the English laws against Popery was carried through parliament at the very end of last session, no body could so much as guess at the nature of it, till it was printed as a public act. The friends of Popery will no doubt endeavour with equal care to conceal the bill for repealing the Scots acts ; happily, however, they cannot do it with equal success. We may not exactly be acquainted with its title, but we are at no loss to know its tenor. It may not perhaps be entitled *An act for promoting the growth of Popery* (the present polished age must have gentle names forevery thing ;) but we are sure it is an act for removing that by which the growth of Popery was prevented. It may not be *specially* declared *in favours of seminary priests and Jesuits* ; but sure it is a repeal of acts which were *specially* directed against them. It may not *directly* encourage the erection of *popish churches and schools*, the celebration of the *mass*, and other *idolatrous exercises* of the Roman Catholick religion ;

gion ; but what is the difference when every legal *discouragement* to these is entirely taken away ? It may not *immediately* admit Papists into our *government* ; but without all doubt it breaks down the chief, nay the *only* effectual barrier in their way, when it makes them capable of purchasing and inheriting *heritable* property. That all this is not spoken at random, as many at first sight may be apt to imagine, will appear from the act for England, which is here subjoined. That act must indeed so far be altered as to make it answer the peculiarities of our law ; but from what was said in parliament when it was passed, we have no reason to expect any other alteration. *Mutatis mutandis* the act for both kingdoms will be the same*.

ACT 18^{vo} George III. entitled, *An act for relieving his Majesty's subjects professing the popish religion within England, from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them by an act made in the 11th and 12th years of the reign of K. William III. entitled, An act for the further preventing of the growth of Popery.*

“ WHEREAS it is *expedient* to *repeal* certain provisions in an act of the 11th and 12th years of the reign of King William III. entitled, An act for the further preventing the growth of Popery, whereby certain penalties and disabilities are imposed on persons professing the popish religion : May it please your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that so much of the said act as relates to the apprehending, taking or prosecuting” (not *simple Papists*, however open and avowed ; for against them there are no penalties whatever, but only “ *popish bishops, priests, or Jesuits,*” (the

* Since the first publication of this pamphlet, the bill for Scotland hath been seen, and it is almost *verbatim* the same as that for England.

(the Scots list of popish worthies includes *seminary mafs priests and trafficking Papists*) “ And also so much of
 “ the said acts as subjects popish bishops, priests or Je-
 “ suits, and Papists, or persons professing the popish
 “ religion, and *keeping school*, or taking upon them-
 “ selves the *education* or government, or boarding of
 “ *youth* within this realm, or the dominions thereto
 “ belonging, to perpetual imprisonment *.” (For
 Scotland the words must be, to *voluntary* or necessary
banishment, perpetual imprisonment being here un-
 known.) “ And so much of the said act as subjects
 “ persons educated in the popish religion, or profes-
 “ sing the same, under the circumstances therein
 “ mentioned, to *inherit* or take by descent, device
 “ or limitation, in possession, reversion, or remainder,
 “ any *lands, tenements, or hereditaments* within the
 “ kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town
 “ of Berwick upon Tweed, and gives to the next of
 “ kin being a Protestant, a right to have and enjoy
 “ such lands, tenements and hereditaments. And
 “ also so much of the said act as disables Papists, or
 “ persons professing the popish religion, to *purchase*
 “ any *manors, lands, profits out of lands, tenements,*
 “ *rents, farms or hereditaments* within the kingdom
 “ of England, &c.—shall be, and the same, and
 “ *every clause and matter and thing herein before men-*
 “ *tioned is and hereby are repealed.*—
 “ Provided always that nothing herein contained
 “ shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any per-
 “ son or persons, but such who shall within the space
 “ of six calender months after the passing of this act,
 “ or of accruing of his, her, or their title—take
 “ and subscribe an oath in the words following.—
 “ I A. B. do *sincerely* promise and swear, that I will
 “ be

* This severe part of the law, which was never executed, is mild when compared with the famous law of Henry IV. in Eng-
 land *de comburendo Heretico* for burning Protestants, which was
 in force and full execution as long as the government was in
 the hands of Papists.

“ be *faithful*, and bear true allegiance to his Majesty
 “ King George the Third, and him will defend to
 “ the utmost of my power against all *conspiracies*, and
 “ attempts whatever that shall be made against his
 “ person, crown or dignity ; and I will do my utmost
 “ endeavour to disclose and make known to his Ma-
 “ jesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and trai-
 “ terous *conspiracies*, which may be formed against
 “ them. And I do *faithfully* promise to maintain,
 “ support and defend to the utmost of my power, the
 “ *succession of the crown* in his Majesty’s family, against
 “ any person or persons whatever, hereby utterly *re-*
 “ *nouncing and abjuring* any obedience or allegiance
 “ unto the person taking upon himself, the stile and
 “ title of the Prince of Wales in the life-time of his
 “ father ; and who, since his death, is said to have as-
 “ sumed the stile and title of the King of Great Bri-
 “ tain, by the name of *Charles the Third* ; and to any
 “ other person claiming or pretending a right to the
 “ crown of these realms. And I do swear, that I do
 “ *reject* and detest as an *antichristian and impious posi-*
 “ *tion*, that it is lawful to *murder or destroy* any person
 “ or persons whatsoever for, or under pretence of
 “ their being hereticks ; and also, that antichristian
 “ and impious *principle*, that no faith is to be kept
 “ with hereticks. I do further declare, That it is no
 “ article of *my faith*, and that I do *renounce*, reject
 “ and abjure the opinion, that *princes* excommuni-
 “ cated by the pope and council, or by any authori-
 “ ty of the see of Rome, or by any authority what-
 “ soever may be *deposed or murdered* by their subjects,
 “ or any person whatsoever. And I do declare, that
 “ I do not believe that the *Pope of Rome*, or any other
 “ foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate hath or
 “ ought to have any *temporal* or *civil* jurisdiction,
 “ power, superiority or pre-eminence, directly or in-
 “ directly within this realm. And I do solemnly in
 “ the presence of God, profess, testify and declare,
 “ that I do make this declaration, and every part of
 “ it

“ it in the plain and ordinary sense of the words
 “ of this oath, without any *evasion, equivocation, or*
 “ *mental reservation* whatever; and without any *dis-*
 “ *pensation* already granted by the Pope, or any au-
 “ thority of the see of Rome, or any person whatever;
 “ or without thinking that I am, or *can be* acquitted
 “ before God or man; or *absolved* of this declara-
 “ tion, or any part thereof, although the *Pope* or any
 “ persons or authority whatsoever *shall dispense with,*
 or annul the same, or *declare it was null and void.*”

R E M A R K S.

THERE are five questions which may naturally, and
 with propriety, be asked upon the present subject. In
 the *first place*, Can the Scots acts against Popery be re-
 pealed without an *infringement* on our constitution?
2dly, If not; then what is the nature of *that* religion,
 which claims so *high* a favour? *3dly*, What are the
 legal restraints upon Popery? ought they *never* to have
 been imposed, or are they at *this day* improper? *4thly*,
 What is the *import* of the repeal relieving them from
 these restraints? And *lastly*, Taking all these toge-
 ther, Is that repeal, in *any view*, expedient or safe?
 The acts themselves, and the following short remarks,
 are an answer to these several questions.

R E M A R K I.

*Repealing the Scots acts against Popery would be
 a direct infringement of our constitution. It
 would not only contradict the general spirit of
 our law, but would be an express violation of
 the Claim of Right 1689, and of the most sa-
 cred article in the Union 1707.*

THIS is indeed an alarming and bold averment; but
 it

it is the more necessary to be made, if it is also *true*. That it is true, let our statutes themselves bear witness.

The legal establishment of the reformation in 1560, is ushered in and accompanied with acts against Popery and Papists. When it is renewed and confirmed in 1567; these acts are also renewed, and repeated verbatim before and after the Confession of Faith. Through the whole statute book, the security of church and state seem to be *inseparably* connected with the abolition of Popery, and the suppression of Papists. But proof of this would be superfluous. Even in the *worst of times*, when the purity of our Presbyterian church, and the freedom of our civil government were most openly attacked by James I. and Charles II. even then the watch against the common enemy was not remitted. See 1609, c. 5. and 1661, c. 8.

The application of the Claim of Right, and the articles of the union, to this subject, deserve to be more particularly considered.

The first and most glorious link of that chain upon which all our dearest rights depend, is the Declaration of the Estates containing the Claim of Right in 1689. Those who will look into the declaration itself, need no more of the history of that period, to convince them that the grievances of Popery, and the violation of the laws against it, were *as much*, perhaps *more* the cause of the Revolution, than the other exertions of arbitrary power. A few extracts are enough for the present purpose.

1689. c. 13. entitled, *The Declaration of the Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, containing the Claim of Right, and the offer of the Crown to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary.*—"Whereas
 " King James the seventh, being a *profest Papist*, did
 " assume the regal power, and acted as a king without
 " taking the oath required by law, whereby the king
 " at his access to government is obliged to swear to
 " maintain

“ *maintain the Protestant religion*, and to rule the peo-
 “ ple according to the *laudable laws*, did, by the ad-
 “ vice of wicked and evil counsellors, invade the *fun-*
 “ *damental constitution* of this kingdom, &c. by e-
 “ recting *public schools and societies of Jesuits*, and not
 “ only allowing *mass* to be *publicly* said, but also in-
 “ verting Protestant chapels and churches to *public*
 “ *mass-houses*, *contrary to the express laws against saying*
 “ *and hearing of mass*; by allowing popish books to
 “ be printed, and dispersed *contrary to the laws*, &c.
 “ Therefore the estates of the kingdom of Scotland find
 “ and declare, That King James VII. being a *protest*
 “ *Papist*, did *assume* the regal power, and acted as
 “ king, without ever taking the *oath required by law*;
 “ and hath, by the advice of evil and wicked coun-
 “ sellors, invaded the *fundamental constitution* of the
 “ kingdom, and altered it from a legal limited mo-
 “ narchy, to an arbitrary despotick power; and hath
 “ exercised the same to the *subversion of the Protestant*
 “ *religion*, and the *violation of the laws and liberty* of
 “ the kingdom, inverting all the ends of government,
 “ whereby he hath *forfaulted the right to the crown*,
 “ and the throne is become vacant. And whereas,
 “ his Royal Highness William, then Prince of Orange,
 “ now King of England, whom it hath pleased almighty
 “ God, to make the glorious instrument of *deliver-*
 “ *ing these kingdoms from Popery and arbitrary power*,
 “ did, by the advice of several lords and gentlemen
 “ of this nation, at London for the time, call the e-
 “ states of this kingdom to meet 14th March last, in
 “ order to such establishment, *as that their religion,*
 “ *laws and liberties might not be again in danger of be-*
 “ *ing subverted*; and the said estates being now as-
 “ sembled in full and free representative of this na-
 “ tion, taking to their most serious consideration, the
 “ best means for attaining the end aforesaid; do,
 “ in the first place, as their ancestors in like cases
 “ have usually done, for *vindicating and asserting* their
 C “ ancient

“ ancient rights and liberties, Declare, That, by the
 “ law of this kingdom, *no Papist can be king or queen*
 “ of this realm, nor bear *any offices whatsoever* there-
 “ in; nor can any *Protestant* successor exercise the
 “ regal power, until he or she *swear the coronation*
 “ *oath*. That all proclamations asserting an absolute
 “ power to pass, annul and disable laws; the *erecting*
 “ *schools and colleges for Jesuits*; the inverting Pro-
 “ testant chapels and churches to *public mass-houses*,
 “ and the *allowing mass to be said*, is *contrary to law*.
 “ That the *allowing popish books* to be printed and dis-
 “ persed is contrary to law, &c.—And they do *claim*,
 “ *demand, and insist on all* and sundry the premises as
 “ *their undoubted rights and liberties*.”—The substance
 of the coronation-oath taken by King William and
 Queen Mary at their acceptance of the crown of
 Scotland is, “ That they swear to maintain the *true*
 “ *religion now received*, and to *abolish and withstand*
 “ *all false religion*, contrary to the same; and to rule
 “ the people according to the will of God, and the
 “ *loveable laws and constitution received* in this realm.”

Who that reads the above can forbear exclaiming,
 Is it possible the descendants of the Revolution patri-
 ots should, within a century, tamely give up, should
 even seem to despise the blessings which our forefathers
 held so dear, which they purchased for us with such a
 noble struggle?

1707, c. 7. entitled, *Act ratifying and approving*
the treaty of union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and
England, contains at full length a previous act for se-
 curing the *Protestant* religion and Presbyterian church
 government, which by the tenor of it is appointed to
 be so inserted, and expressly declared “ to be held and
 “ *observed in all time coming as a fundamental and essen-*
 “ *tial condition* of any treaty or union to be concluded
 “ betwixt the two kingdoms, without *any alteration*
 “ *thereof, or derogation thereto in any sort for ever*.” This
 act “ *ratifies, approves, and for ever confirms* the 5th
 “ act

“ act of the first parl. of King William and Queen Mary, (1690) entitled, Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian church government; with *the hail other acts* of parliament *relating thereto, in prosecution of the Declaration of the Estates* of this kingdom, containing the Claim of Right, bearing date 11th April 1689.” Act 5th parl. 1690. “ Revives, ratifies and *perpetually confirms* all laws, statutes and acts of parliament, made *against Popery and Papists*, and for maintainance of the true reformed religion.” The acts *directly relating* to this one, and consequently ratified with it, and *unalterably* established at the Union, are, so far as concern the present point, chiefly three. Act 2d parl. 1700, of which Act 3d in that same parliament is a sort of appendix. Act 3d parl. 1702, and act 2d parl. 1703, all which have the same title, *viz. For securing the true Protestant religion and Presbyterian government*; and are almost verbatim copies of one another. By them not only is Act 5th, parl. 1690, particularly confirmed; but as that could never be effectually secured, without continuing and strengthening the barriers against Popery, the first clause always *“ ratifies, approves, and perpetually confirms* all laws, statutes and acts of parliament made against Popery and Papists.”

To explain these quotations is unnecessary; to comment upon them would but weaken the argument. The averment which begins this section is surely proved to a demonstration. There shall only be further added, what at present *is*, and we hope *long will be*, the latest ratification of the whole.

25th Oct. 1760, *Carleton-house*. “ I GEORGE III, King of Great Britain, &c. Do faithfully promise and swear, That I shall *inviolably maintain* and preserve the settlement of the *true Protestant religion*, with the government, worship and discipline, *rights* and privileges of the church of Scotland, as esta-
 C 2 “ blished

“ blished by the *laws* made there *in prosecution of the*
 “ *Claim of Right* ; and particularly by an *Act for se-*
 “ *curing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church*
 “ *government*, and by the act passed in both kingdoms
 “ for the union of the two kingdoms. So help me
 “ God.”

R E M A R K II.

*Popery is not a religion which deserves any favour ;
 much less does it deserve a favour, which cannot
 be granted without violating the most sacred
 parts of our constitution.*

The days have been when, in Scotland, a proof of this remark would have been at least unnecessary : But times are changed, and we are changed. Many who still bear the name of Protestants, are not ashamed to plead for Popery and Papists, with all the cunning, as well as keenness of Jesuits. When the principles of Popery are found fault with ; it is answered, they have no influence upon the actions of Papists. When the actions of Papists are found fault with, it is answered, they are not authorised by the principles of Popery. A few leading facts to blunt this two-edged argument are all that can be admitted in the present publication.

The principles of Popery, so far as they regard God and matters strictly *spiritual*, are unscriptural, anti-christian, idolatrous, and blasphemous ; so far as they regard private *morality*, they are most corrupt ; and so far as they regard *society* and *government*, they are inconsistent with the peace and safety of every society, and every government wherein they themselves are not established.

None but Papists will deny the first of these. The indulgences and pardons which are and can be lawfully given by the priests for all sins past, present and to come, are sufficient evidence of the second. And the

the last, which only will be disputed, and is chiefly in view at present, will be fully proved by the following extracts from papal decrees, constitutions of councils, and writings of some popish authors.

The *supremacy* and *infallibility* of the bishop of Rome, which have been the foundation of most of the Roman Catholic errors, are thus described. "The pope (who represents on earth not mere man but true God) has an *heavenly power*, and therefore *changes* the nature of things; In those things that he wills, his *will* is instead of reason; nor is there any one that can say unto him, What dost thou? For he can *dispense* with law. He can make justice injustice by *altering* and *amending* laws, and he has a plenitude or fulness of power*." Cardinal Bellarmine on the same principles says, That "if the pope should command vice and prohibit virtue, the church is *bound to believe* vice to be good, and virtue to be evil, or it would sin against conscience†." The coincidence of this and similar passages with 2 Thess. ii. 4. is so remarkable, that one would almost mistake them for a Protestant application of that text to Antichrist "the Man of sin, the son of perdition; who *opposeth* and *exalteth* himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he *as God* sitteth in the temple of God, *shewing* himself that he is God." Tetzels, one of Luther's great opponents at the reformation, maintained, as a standard doctrine of the church of Rome, by which he was employed to preach

* *Innoc. III. Gloss. ad Decr. Greg. tit. 7. c. 3.*

A monk at *Tours* mentioned by Stephanus, when preaching on this subject, carried the matter as high in theory as other Papists have carried it in practice; he said, If the pope and Christ were by him, and the one commanded one thing and the other another, he would obey the pope rather than Christ.

† *Bellarmin. Rem. Pontif. lib. 4. c. 5.*

Well might another popish author say seriously, what from a Protestant would seem ironical, The wit and judgment of Catholics is to renounce their judgment and depose their wit. *Cressie, Append. c. 7. § 8.*

preach on the subject of *Indulgences*, "That their efficacy was so great that the most heinous sins would be remitted and expiated by them, and the person be freed both from punishment and guilt. For twelve pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of purgatory *."

The intolerancy and *persecuting spirit* of the church of Rome is almost as often declared as the name of heretick, especially Protestant heretick, is mentioned. The 4th council of Lateran decrees, That "Catholics who take up the cross, gird up their loins, and are active in *exterminating hereticks*, shall enjoy the same privileges and indulgences with persons going to the relief of the holy land," (of which this was one, a full remission of all their sins if they died in the cause.) And the same council says, that "the secular powers should be *admonished*, and if it be necessary, *compelled* by ecclesiastical censures, to *extirpate all hereticks* out of their jurisdiction †." The council of Toledo speaks in terms still stronger. "We the holy council, promulgate this sentence or decree, *pleasing to God*, that whosoever hereafter shall succeed to the kingdom, shall not mount the throne till he hath *sworn to permit no man* to live in his kingdom who is not a *Catholic*. And if, after he hath taken the reins of government, he shall violate his promise, let him be *Anathema Maranatha* in the sight of the eternal God, and fuel for eternal fire."—A cardinal of the first note, says, "If it were possible to root out hereticks, without doubt they are to be *destroyed* root and branch ‡." And a pope says, "The person who doth not abjure his heresy, and immediately return to the orthodox faith, shall be *given up* to the secular judge, to receive

* *Chemnitz Examen Concil. Trident.*

Tetzel mentions a crime which is perfectly shocking; "*Etiam si Matrem Dei violaverit.*" Even this, says he, could be expiated by an indulgence.

† *Can. 3. de Hæret.*

‡ *Bellarmin. de laic. 3. 22. p. 1319.*

“ receive the *proper punishment* of his crimes *,” i. e. in plain language to be burnt.)—Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. informs us, that “ a decree was “ passed in the assembly of the fathers” (the council of Constance) “ against those stubborn men,” (John Hus and Jerome of Prague) “ that they who rejected “ the doctrine of the church *should be burnt* †.” Nay, they determined that “ hereticks may be punished, if “ they refuse to revoke their errors, even though they “ should have come to the place where they are to be “ judged, only upon the faith of a safe conduct, and “ without which they would not have come thither ‡.” The *Emperor Sigismund* the patron and protector of that famous council was present at John Hus’s trial; and after all the procedure, thus addressed the fathers, “ You have heard the articles laid to the charge of “ John Hus.” (The very articles still maintained by Protestants.) “ In my opinion there is not a *single one* “ among them that does not call for the *punishment* “ *of fire*. If therefore he do not retract them all, I am “ for having him burnt.” And a little before he had said to Hus himself, “ For our part, we” (alluding to his own explicit safe conduct) “ shall be so far from “ supporting you in your *errors* and obstinacy, that “ we will with *our own hands* kindle the fire to burn “ you.” These horrid speeches were received with applause by the council, of whose sentiments they were but an echo. And they are quoted with approbation by the latest popish writer in this kingdom ¶.

That *no faith* is to be kept with hereticks; nay, that *heresy dissolves every public and every private obligation*, is a doctrine still more dangerous than those which have been mentioned, and utterly subversive of the first principles of society and civil government:

Yet,

* *Decr. Greg. lib. 5.*

† *Hist. Bohem. c. 36.*

‡ *L' Enfant. vol. 1. p. 358.*

¶ Answer to W. A. D. by G. H. p. 70, 76, 99, &c.

Yet, if we may believe Papists themselves, even this is a clear doctrine of Popery. The Pope's *dispensing power*, which is another most insufferable doctrine, will also too fully appear from the following quotations. "We (says one of St Peter's successors) following the statutes of our predecessors, do by our apostolic authority, *absolve* all those from their *oath of fidelity* who are bound to *excommunicate* persons," (*i. e.* all Protestants without distinction) "and we do by all means *prohibit* them to keep faith with them, until they make satisfaction *."—"Be it known (says another Pope) to all who are under the *jurisdiction* of these who have openly fallen into *heresy*, that they are *free* from the *obligation* of fidelity, dominion, and *every kind* of obedience to them, by *whatever* means or bond they are tied to them, and how securely *soever* they may be bound †." Dr. Simanca, a great popish commentator, gives a full explanation of this infamous decree. "Besides (says he) governors of forts and *all kinds of vassals* are by this same constitution (of Pope Gregory IX.) freed from the bond of the *oath* whereby they had promised fidelity to their lords and masters. Moreover, a catholick wife is not obliged to perform the *marriage contract* with an heretical husband. If faith is not to be kept with *tyrants, pirates*, and other public robbers who kill the *body*, much less with obstinate *hereticks* who kill the *soul*. If they are safe, the weak minds of the faithful will be ensnared by them. Ay, but it is a sad thing to *break faith*. But, as saith Marius Salomonius, faith promised against Christ, *if kept*, is verily *perfidy*. *Justly* therefore were some hereticks (John Hufs, &c.) burnt by the most solemn judgment of the council of Constance, *although* they had been promised

" security.

* Greg. VII. decr. p. 2. caus. 15. quæst. 6. c. 4.

† Greg. IX. decr. lib. 5.

“ security. And St. Thomas (Aquinas) also is of opinion, that a Catholic might deliver over an untractable heretick to the judges, *notwithstanding* he had pledged his faith to him, and even confirmed it by the solemnity of an *oath*. This is often said by us, but it is necessary *incessantly* to repeat it *.—Pope Martin V. in an epistle to Alexander Duke of Lithuania, goes still further when he says: “ Be assured thou *sinnest mortally* if thou keep thy faith with hereticks †.”—The above commentator again adds, “ That from the same Gregorian constitution, it is manifest that a heretick forfeits his title to all sorts of dominion whatever; *natural*, over his children, who, by his heresy, become their own masters; *civil*, over his slaves, who are thereby set at liberty; and *political* over their subjects, who are no longer obliged to obey him ‡.”—But not to insist too long upon this disagreeable subject, a part of Pope Pius V’s bull against Q. Elizabeth, which is not the least singular of these quotations, shall conclude the whole. It is entitled, *The Damnation and Excommunication of Elizabeth Queen of England and her adherents*. || “ Moreover, we do declare her to be *deprived* of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity and privilege whatsoever; and also, the nobility, subjects and people of the said kingdom, and all others which have in any sort sworn to her, to be *for ever absolved* from any such oath, and all manner of duty and dominion, *allegiance*

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* *Simanc. Cathol. Inst. tit. 46. de pænis.*

† *Apud Cochleum bist. Huss. lib. 5.*

‡ *Simanc. de pænis. p. 74.*

|| The hint of this and most of the foregoing quotations was taken from an excellent little Protestant Catechism, published at Dumfries, written by the Rev. Mr. E—. And from a late very satisfactory publication by an Episcopal clergyman in Edinburgh, exposing the popish doctrine of breaking faith with hereticks. In a letter, Dr. W. A. D. to Mr G. H. a popish bishop.

“allegiance and obedience, as we do by authority of
 “these prelates absolve them; and do *deprive* the
 “same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the king-
 “dom, and all other things afore said: And we com-
 “mand and interdict all, and every the noblemen,
 “subjects, people and others afore said, they *presume*
 “not to obey her or her monitions, mandates and
 “laws. Given at St. Peters, 1570.”

Such are the dreadful principles of the church of Rome! A *mystery of iniquity* indeed, as the apostle most emphatically styles them *. *These* were the very principles for denying and disputing which at the Reformation many a saint obtained the crown of martyrdom †. *These* very principles make still an important part of the canon law, and consequently every Papist is bound to maintain them, or must incur the curses of the church ‡. They are *still* undenied and unrepealed by any public authority; and whatever some in Protestant countries, in certain circumstances, may think prudent to *avow*, at a more convenient season, they will not conceal their *real* sentiments §.

But would to God these were only *principles*! The most horrid of them are confirmed by too many *facts*. An enumeration of particulars would fill several volumes. The mention of a few more remarkable and notorious instances may here suffice.

The fate of *John Huss* in 1415, though there was

not

* 2 *Thess.* ii. 7.

† The names of these saints are not in the Calendar; but in spite of all the papal anathemas, they are written in the Lamb's book of life. Rev. iii. 5.

‡ The stile of these curses is, *Let him be Anathema; let him incur the wrath of Almighty God, and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul*; and every decree is concluded with such a sanction.

§ “It is very extraordinary,” as a late beautiful writer says, “that Protestants should say Popery is changed, when Papists themselves maintain it can never change; and indeed, they cannot maintain less, without giving up their fundamental of infallibility.” Mr *Porteous's* sermon.

not another instance, would, by itself, be more than sufficient. This early reformer was called to the council of Constance to defend his doctrines. He knew too well what Popery and Papists were, to trust bare promises of safety. He got therefore a safe conduct, as ample and as sacred as could be given: Yet, *after all*, no sooner does he arrive than he is imprisoned.—He is tried by the council.—He is condemned as a heretick.—He is delivered over to the secular power.—And then he is of course, without further ceremony, committed to the flames.—To the everlasting disgrace of an infallible Pope, of a holy general council, of an orthodox Emperor; and above all, of that religion by the spirit and institutions of which they were directed.

The *massacres* in France and Ireland are such a stain upon the history of human nature, that they ought to be for ever buried in oblivion, if the source from which they sprung were not still in existence. Indeed, nothing but the *principles* of Popery could make them credible.

On the 24th August 1572, (a saint's day is chosen to make the infernal deed the more meritorious,) on *St. Bartholomew's day*, thousands of the noblest and best citizens of France were murdered in cold blood, without a moment's warning, in the streets, in their own houses, and in their beds *. This was all done by

* The numbers who about this time were massacred throughout France cannot be ascertained. At Paris alone Thuanus tell us, 30,000 fell upon the fatal day, and above 500 of these were noblemen or persons of the first distinction. The fate of Admiral Coligni is such a shocking piece of popish treachery and cruelty, that it deserves particular notice. He, with the other chiefs of the Protestants, was invited to Paris under the most solemn promises of safety, to attend the nuptials of the King's sister. She was married to the King of Navarre, a Protestant prince, in order, as was pretended, to unite for ever the two jarring parties. When he came, he was received and continued to be treated with more than usual kindness. On the 23d of August, when going home from court, he was twice fired at on the public street, in presence of

by the hands of *Papists* (chiefly priests and Jesuits) against their own countrymen, for no other offence but their being Protestants. It was all done by the express command of Charles XI. who reckoned *most Christian King* to be his peculiar title. It was done at the very time when the Protestants were more than ever caressed at court, and all religious animosities in the nation seemingly at an end. The bloody work being over, its apologies, and even *panegyrics*, with the most extravagant encomiums resounded throughout every corner of the church: Nay, when the news of the massacre were brought to Rome, the holy Father *himself* Gregory XIII. went in procession to St. Lewis's church, and there—(*Quake thou, O earth, at the unparalleled impiety! Tremble ye heavens! Thou sun and thou moon be darkened! and ye stars withdraw your shining!*) There—publick solemn thanks were offered to the all-merciful Creator; the all-gracious Redeemer of mankind, for what devils alone could behold without detestation and abhorrence*.

The of many friends, and was thereby twice wounded in the right arm. To prevent this unsuccessful attempt from stopping the great design already ripe for execution, the king protested with most solemn oaths to all the Protestants, that they were in perfect safety; and even went in the afternoon to visit the admiral, and poured forth a volley of hypocritical threatnings against the villainous conspirator, whose escape had been previously secured. All suspicions were thus once more removed; when at 12 o'clock that very night, the great bell was tolled. The assassins assemble. By the royal order the admiral is their first object. His doors are burst open, and this gray-headed servant of his country is butchered in his bed chamber by the hands of a German boy. Nor could even death satiate their cruelty; the lifeless carcass was, for days together, openly abused, in a manner that is too horrid to relate. 'Tis said the head was sent a present to the pope. A grateful offering, no doubt, to an incarnate dæmon. With more than hellish blasphemy, he sung *Te Deum* for the victory.

* To preserve this cause of gratitude fresh in every memory, the transaction was exhibited at Rome in a magnificent picture:

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The 23d of August 1641, exhibited a scene in *Ireland* still more shocking, if possible, than the massacre of Paris. Every Papist was an executioner, and every Protestant without distinction of rank, age or sex, was a devoted victim *. Though the plot was discovered in time, to prevent the bloody havock it must have made in Dublin; yet in other parts of the kingdom, above a *hundred thousand* Protestants were butchered by the hands of their popish neighbours, with whom they had for some time before lived in more than ordinary friendship. The whole country was a field of blood and cruelty. Simple death is an uncommon mercy from a Papist. The heart of a savage would recoil from the narrative of such cruelties, as were every where committed †. How strongly characteristic is St. John's prophetic description of the church of Rome? It looks like the motto of her history since the Reformation. *I saw her drunken with the blood of saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus*, Rev. xvij, 6.

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Inscribed *The triumph of the church*. A triumph truly with a vengeance over both Christianity and humanity at once.

* If this massacre was entirely the plan and work of private Papists, and we have no authority to think otherwise, it is the more unambiguous proof of the principles of Popery.

† The following are a very few extracts from Sir John Parson's history of the massacre, which he took from examinations upon oath. "In some parishes 200 families were murdered and destroyed. To many the bloody villains showed so much favour as suddenly to dispatch them; for others they held a sudden death too easy. They therefore imprisoned some in beastly dungeons, full of dirt and mire, and there clapping bolts on their heels, suffered them to perish at leisure; others they barbarously mangled and left languishing on the high-ways, crying out but for so much mercy, as to be delivered out of their pain; others they buried alive. In Clonmel in the county of Termanogh there were 17 persons having been hanged till they were half dead, cast together into a pit, and being covered over with a little earth, lay pitifully, sending out most lamentable groans for a long time.—Some were deadly wounded and so
"hanged

The design of the Papists, to destroy with one blow the king and both houses of parliament, 25th October* 1605, need hardly be mentioned. The *Gunpowder plot* is yet publicly remembered: And while Britain continues to be a nation, she ought never to forget either the authors of that hellish conspiracy, or the kind interposition of providence which discovered it on the very eve of execution.

The *Inquisition* deserves here to be remembered. That horrid engine of cruelty, which one could scarce believe the malice of hell itself would have invented, was first erected by Pope Innocent III. for the discovery and extirpation of Protestants, and is still continued by his successors for the same purposes; nay, it is countenanced and established by secular princes of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

The *Cruisade* or Holy War, as the holy father impiously called the war raised up by himself, and carried on by his legate, against the Protestants who bore the title of *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*;—the long continued persecutions in Bohemia and other parts of Germany;—the later ones in France and in the Netherlands;—all open a wide field, which however tragical, ought

“hanged upon tenter-hooks; some had ropes tied about their
“necks, and so drawn through the water.”——“The inhuman
“monsters hung up women great with child, whose bellies they
“ripped up as they hung, and so let the little infants fall out:
“Sometimes they gave their children to swine; some the dogs
“eat; and some taken alive out of their mother’s bellies, they
“cast into ditches: Some had their brains knocked out; others
“were trampled under foot: Some were found in the fields suck-
“ing the breasts of their murdered mothers; others were starved
“in caves, crying out to their mothers, rather to send them out
“to be killed by the rebels. Multitudes of men, women and
“children were found drowned; cast into ditches, bogs and
“turf-pits, the ordinary sepulchre of the British nation.—Mul-
“titudes were inclosed in houses, which being set on fire, they
“were most miserably consumed: Some were dragged from sick-
“beds to the place of execution, &c. &c. &c.

* This is now the 5th of November, N. S.

ought to be often reviewed by Protestants, so long as Popery and Papists have an existence in the world *.

The persecutions in England under Queen Mary, must, to a British Protestant, be the strongest of all testimonies against the church of Rome. The torturing fire was scarce ever extinguished during that bloody reign. The most sacred and most respectable persons were not spared; nay, women and children were brought to the stake for the word of God and testimony of Jesus †. And what shall we say more? The argument might be brought still nearer to ourselves: But time would fail to mention the sufferings of the church of Scotland, and what our forefathers endured from the hands of Papists. "They had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonments;" nay, of torture and death in their most inhuman shapes. "They were destitute, afflicted and tormented; (of whom the world was not worthy) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth." Heb. xi. 36, &c.

* To enter into these at present, would be much too tedious for the nature of this publication. But it were well worth the pains of any person who has leisure, to collect a full and particular account of all the popish persecutions since the very dawn of the reformation in the 14th century. Facts are in every case the most unanswerable and convincing arguments.

† Though this horrid reign was shortened for the elect's sake, yet, in the space of five years, many hundreds were publicly sacrificed to the cruelty of popish priests, and the bigotry of the silly Queen; who, as Bishop Burnet tells us, was persuaded she could never have a child, if she did not extirpate every heretick in the kingdom. Among them were five bishops, of which number were Crammer, Latimer, and Ridley, three of the greatest men in the age; twenty one other divines, eight gentlemen, twenty six married women, twenty widows and virgins, two boys and two infants.

RE-

REMARK III.

The restraints which our laws lay upon Popery and Papists, are such as were necessary and proper when imposed, such as ought not now or ever to be taken off.

THE very name of religious toleration is justly dear to every Protestant. The idea of persecution for conscience sake is most odious and detestable. But we must beware of being misled by mere sounds. It is an absolute abuse of words, to apply either toleration or persecution to the present subject.—Had Popery only this one fault, its intolerant nature and practice, even that would make a publick toleration of it altogether absurd; but considering all its horrid characters which are written with blood in every part of Europe, nay, in every quarter of the globe, such a toleration becomes the most wanton folly and madness. Liberty is no doubt sacred, but who ever maintained that it ought to be extended to its very enemies? that we should give rights to others, which are inconsistent with the safety of our own? If there be any reason for tolerating Popery, there must be the same for tolerating blasphemy, atheism, superstition and idolatry of every kind*, not excepting the barbarous custom of sacrificing human victims. By the by, even in this last article, Indians have been outdone by Papists†. Nay, upon a similar principle, we must tolerate rebels to our own king, avowed enemies of our present constitution;

* See 1649. c. 28. 1661. c. 21. 1695. c. 5. These acts against atheism and blasphemy are as severe as those against Popery. If we repeal the one, we must, on the same principles, repeal the other, and may do it with much less danger.

† The Spaniards, who all along carried the papal bulls as their authority, committed all their cruelties, in zeal to him whose darling title is the Prince of Peace. See Robertson's history of America. *Passim*.

stitution; perhaps, it were no more than truth to say, that the one includes the other, and one act of indemnity will do for both. As to persecution for conscience sake, it is in no case allowable. A man may be an atheist, a blasphemer, an idolater, a rebel, a Papist, or all in one, if contradictions can exist together, and yet, if he be only so in his heart, and do not disturb others, no human laws should interfere. Our laws against Popery never did, and never will interfere in this way. They do not allow persecution even of our persecutors.

The chief enactments against Popery, besides the abolition of it as the established religion, may be all comprehended in these four particulars. 1st. An absolute prohibition of the *public* exercise of Popery, by public churches and schools, and especially by the celebration of that wicked and idolatrous institution of the mass. 2^{dly}, An absolute prohibition of all *popish* bishops, seminary priests, Jesuits, *popish* teachers of youth, and trafficking Papists*. Both which prohibitions are to be enforced by banishment and forfeiture, with the usual certification in banishments, of the judges having a power to inflict such punishment as they shall think proper, in case of a return, being still of the same character. 3^{dly}, Some provisions for having the children of Papists educated by Protestants. 4^{thly} and lastly, A disqualification of Papists, while such, from enjoying *heritable* rights, either by purchase or succession.

When some of these laws were framed, the gibbets on which Protestants had suffered were scarcely taken down; the flames in which they endured the

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* It is not very clear what this last phrase means. They were probably so stiled from their selling indulgences, relics, and other instruments of superstition. The only explanation of it in our acts is this, Whoever shall by writing, speaking, or otherways, debauch and pervert any of his Majesty's subjects to the errors and superstitions of Popery, shall be held and proceeded against and punished as a trafficking Papist, 1696. c. 28.

most cruel of all deaths were but just extinguished : When the rest were made, these things were still fresh in every one's remembrance. Our enemies themselves then being judges ; these laws must appear to have been, at that time, at least gentle and humane to admiration. And ourselves being judges, we cannot see (especially considering how mildly they are executed) why they should *yet* undergo any alteration, and much less why they should be totally repealed.

If the principles of the Reformation are indeed to be supported as the principles of true Christianity, it is impossible to dispense with the two first prohibitions. Can it be said that the Protestant religion is properly established and protected, if its enemies are allowed publicly to profane and anathematize its most sacred ordinances and doctrines ? Can we pretend the smallest regard to the maintainance of these doctrines, if we countenance publick popish schools for perverting youth, and allow seminary priests and Jesuits, who will compass sea and land to make proselytes, publicly to spread their abominable errors ? As to the statutory provisions respecting the education of children of Papists, we may blush to hear them mentioned ; while, to the praise of our forefathers, they show that Protestants had once some of that zeal for the true religion, which Papists have for the false ; they also put us in mind that these times are now no more.

The last restriction with regard to heritable property, is no less wise and necessary. In every country the possession of land must give influence in the government. In a free country like this, they are in a great degree inseparable. Unless therefore we wish again to be under the government of Papists, we must preserve this limitation. It may be said, there are other limitations which, independent of this, will keep out Papists from any share in the government. But suppose them possessed of a great part of the landed property, no other limitations can ever bind them.

them. If, in their present situation, they can so easily get the walls of our constitution broke down, it will then be no great difficulty to get the gates thrown open. The tottering situation of our landed interest, the avidity with which Papists will unite to purchase estates, and the policy with which they will secure them from ever coming again into the hands of Protestants*, are all circumstances which might be dreaded as having the same unhappy tendency. It merits observation, that many noblemen and gentlemen who are professed Papists, still enjoy their estates; nay, by some jesuitical invention, (for what law can bind their zeal and cunning) they have found it practicable to enjoy all the political influence from these estates which Protestant proprietors could have enjoyed. There are not wanting instances where one nobleman hath so split his qualifications, as to command upon his own estate, independent of all other influence, a fourth part of the whole votes in a county. This surely is an evil which loudly demands a remedy.

R E M A R K IV.

The proposed repeal amounts to a full licence of popish churches and popish schools; an absolute toleration of popish bishops, seminary priests and Jesuits; and a full right to Papists of acquiring the whole landed property of the kingdom.

WHAT less can it be, when every prohibition, restraint and disability, in these respects, are utterly removed?

* See 1695. c. 26. Act discharging popish persons to prejudice their Protestant heirs in succession. This, which is ratified and of new enacted 1700.-3. must fall with the rest. An amendment for preserving this restriction proposed by a bishop in England, and the only one objection made to the bill, was over-ruled; so that if the present laws disinherit Popish Heirs where there are Protestant ones, the new law will in fact disinherit Protestant Heirs where ever there is a Popish one.

moved? The nation was much in the dark about the laws against Popery; but they have been altogether mistaken as to this repeal. They were told, and by those too who at least might have known the truth, that nothing more was intended than correcting certain barbarous statutes, and removing some very severe civil disabilities which had no connection either with government or religion. Upon the information now given, let every one judge if the case be so. He that runs may read, and see that nothing but a direct re-establishment of Popery could go further. Upon this it were superfluous to insist. A few observations, however, may not be improper upon the oath which every Papist must take, who claims the privilege of the repeal.

This oath, though perhaps the best that could be devised on the occasion, is evidently unavailable, and only shows the impossibility of binding any Papist till he is loosed from his present fetters.—He *abjures* and renounces allegiance to the *Pretender*, though he knows his own religion was the very cause of King James's deposition. Can ever a Papist believe Popery a sufficient, or even a lawful cause of abjuration?—He swears *allegiance* to the present royal family, yet he knows the title of the house of Hanover to the throne of Britain to be founded on their being Protestant, and discountenancing Popery. 'Tis impossible the allegiance of a Papist to such a title can be sincere.—He declares, that he rejects certain impious *principles*, the lawfulness of murdering hereticks, of keeping no faith with them, and of deposing or murdering excommunicated princes; yet, from this very renunciation, these principles are supposed to have been his faith till he took the oath: And it is self-evident, that an oath can in no shape alter any person's faith; it may alter his profession, but can never, in the nature of the thing, do more. And therefore, he was either no Papist before, or he is still one, and a perjured one too,

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too. But were all this otherwise, it would not be enough ; for he must still retain one principle (if he retain any thing of Popery at all) which makes every other renunciation go for nothing ; and that is, No Papist hath any power over his faith, or even the declarations of it. Implicit obedience to ecclesiastical superiors is the fundamental and most essential doctrine of the church of Rome.—The next article of the oath which is equally ineffectual, fully confirms this observation.—He disclaims only the *civil* jurisdiction of the pope, and other Romish prelates, within this realm ; which is more than tacitly declaring their spiritual supremacy, their absolute dominion over the conscience, their infallible wisdom in all matters of faith and practice. While this is unrenounced, all renunciations must be mere mock and contradiction.—The last article is for the same reason perfectly ridiculous. He declares the pope can give no dispensation to free him from this oath ; yet he believes the pope can dispense with every oath and obligation, especially where religion is concerned ; and indeed, while the supremacy and infallibility are admitted, that dispensing power must be a necessary consequence.—But all this is sworn to without evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation ; and who is so childish as to think that these can give greater strength to the oath, or that he who is capable of evading the ordinary meaning of the plainest words (which is even supposed of every Papist by the addition) that he cannot evade these with the same facility *. In one word, while a man remains an avowed Papist, none of his oaths, in any terms, can give the smallest security.—Our forefather's knew this well when they framed the Formula, which is a remarkable contrast to the oath now under

* By the bye, this part of some of our oaths, which was never known in the world till Popery introduced it, ought to be abolished, not only as a reflection upon man's veracity, but next to a profanation of the invoked presence of the Deity.

under consideration.—The very principle, *viz.* Religion, which binds all other people on the face of the earth to the performance of their oath, effectually liberates a Papist from all obligation.—But grant the most that can be asked. The person swearing may bind himself personally, but he does not thereby either alter the nature of Popery, nor does he bind his children and connections among whom he propagates his religion in its real, natural and most abominable shapes.

CONCLUSION.

From the foregoing remarks viewed separately and together, it appears, That the proposed repeal of our acts against Popery, is, in every respect, dangerous and inexpedient; and ought therefore to be opposed by all the true friends of Scotland, and her dearest rights, her religious and her civil liberties.

DEAR countrymen, fellow-citizens, and fellow-Protestants, can you consider the facts now laid before you, and yet hesitate about this conclusion?

Have you fully attended to the consequences of violating *the Claim of Right*, that *Magna Charta* of the kingdom? Have we but this one barrier against Popery and despotism? And shall we, without concern, allow it to be broken down? History seems universally to support the observation, That civil liberty and Popery (which is only another name for spiritual slavery) can never exist together. How strongly must this apply to Scotland! Credulity itself cannot believe that the house of Stuart was deposed for their attachment to Popery; and yet Papists remain friends to the Revolution. The abdicated royal family, and the abdicated religion, must necessarily have the same view, as they have the same interest. The successors

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of both are inseparable, and are equally called intruders. Our forefathers justly dethroned their king because he was a *Papist*; and shall we encourage Popery, to reinstate him? The friends of Protestantism, of liberty, and of the house of Hanover, as the pillars of both, must with one voice declare against it.

Have you considered how sacred the articles of the union should be always reckoned? Our union with England is not a federal union, like that of the Dutch provinces, where each kingdom retains its own separate government; but an incorporating union, by which we have but one legislature, and that legislature, from the nature of the thing, must be absolute while the union subsists. Of this legislation we have, and can have but a small proportion*. In all matters that equally concern the whole kingdom it is so far well; but in any matters wherein we retain our ancient religion, laws and customs peculiar to ourselves, we must be absolute slaves of England, dependent on a foreign power. To prevent this, certain articles were made conditions of the union; and of consequence unalterable. Allow a British parliament to infringe one, *any one* of them, and our security, our dignity is gone.—Will Scotsmen bear the very thought of this with patience?

But is it indeed possible, you will wantonly make such foolish and such mean concessions for the sake of—Popery? Have you not heard, have not your fathers told you, what an unworthy object you have chosen for a favourite?—But it is said, Popery was indeed once odious, now Papists are very good subjects, and very good neighbours; we neither fear plots nor massacres, which made our fathers dread them.

* The British House of Commons consists of 558 members, of which only 45 are Scots. The House of Peers may be increased at the pleasure of the king; we can only have 16 representing our nobility.

them. If it indeed be so, Pray what hath produced this wonderful reformation? It surely was not their religion. It must either have been the laws, or the manners of the country in which they live. If the first, which unquestionably, is in a great measure the cause*; it is the strongest possible reason against altering our laws: And if the second, which may in part be the cause, we may surely trust our own civilization as well as theirs. Were our laws ever so severe, Papists themselves acknowledge the execution of them is by no means so. While both continue as at present, there will be no reason to complain. And should we grow savages, their growing better than savages is not to be expected.

Have you not even seen that the supposed severity of our laws is a mistake? They prohibit and restrain Popery and Papists, no farther than is necessary to maintain the Protestant religion and a free government. But, at any rate, considering the very gentle execution of these laws, an express repeal of them would indeed be a compliment to Papists, which they should be ashamed to ask. Where is the popish country in which Protestants are not yet by law condemned to death, even to burning †? Who is not enraged to

* Before the case happened in any Protestant country, Cardinal Bellarmine gave direction about it, in a passage, part of which hath been already quoted: "If it were possible (says he) to root out the hereticks, without doubt they ought to be destroyed root and branch; but if it cannot be because they are stronger than we; and there is danger, if they should oppose us, that we should be worsted, then we are to be quiet." *De Laic.* 3. 22. p. 1319.

† So late as the year 1762, Mr. Rochette a Protestant minister, and three of the French noblesse suspected of Protestantism, were openly and barbarously murdered at Thoulouse in France, for their religion alone. Where the French laws do not inflict death and torture upon Protestants, they appoint the men to be condemned to serve in the galleys for life, and the women to be shorn and for ever imprisoned. And what is worst of all, they are prohibited from leaving the country, under still severer sanctions. See *Ordonan. Louis XV.* 1724 and 1745.

to see a Papist, in this very country, at this very time, pleading for a toleration of Popery; and in the most jesuitical manner, acknowledging and defending the lawfulness and propriety of persecuting; nay, of destroying Protestants for conscience sake *.

The revocation of the edict of Nantz is such a contrast to our present proposed repeal, that it deserves to be particularly mentioned. There have been more Protestants, and consequently more religious, perhaps more civil liberty in France, than in any Catholick kingdom of Europe. Notwithstanding the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew, there were still so many as to be able, almost with their own strength, to raise Henry the Great to the throne. He, from the bent of his own principles, as well as from gratitude to his friends, passed an edict at Nantz, abrogating or suspending the sanguinary laws against the Protestants †. Near a century afterwards, 1685, Lewis XIV. under the influence of popish councils, and of his own bigotry, revoked this edict, and by one deed half depopulated

* See ans. to W. A. D. by G. H. every where, particularly p. 21. 34. 70. &c. *Quere.* Must not the English oath which disclaims murdering (though not persecuting) hereticks, be a little enlarged for our Scots Papists?

The impudence of this scurrilous Jesuit is really astonishing. He again and again calls the doctrines of the Reformation *impious and pestiferous*. John Huf's crime, which he, in almost every page, boldly says *merited* the punishment he suffered, was by no means so disrespectful to the established errors of Popery, as this is to our present government. See p. 81. 88. &c.

† Father *Paul* himself tells us, that there were no less than 50 conspiracies instigated by priests and Jesuits, against this truly great Prince. One Chastel having failed in an attempt of assassination, was celebrated as a glorious martyr after his execution. And at last, the famous *Ravilliac* gave the fatal blow. Henry IV. had renounced his religion to satisfy the Papists; but he still retained so much humanity and Christianity, that he could not persecute the Protestants, and this was all his crime; the only crime almost for which the church of Rome cannot give a pardon.

pulated his kingdom. Thousands and ten thousands of the very best citizens, particularly the most ingenious in every art and science, fled to Britain and Holland, from the place where they could not live a day in safety. See here the true spirit of Popery, with every circumstance to make it moderate. Lewis was the patron of all liberal arts and sciences, to such a degree, that on this very account, he was called Lewis the *Great*. France was then at the very summit of civilization. The Protestants were the most industrious, dutiful subjects, and asked no new encouragements; yet in spite of all, Popery must persecute. Indeed, Popery will be no more Popery, when it and toleration can subsist together. "Then the wolf
"also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall
"lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young
"lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall
"lead them," *Ias. xi. 6.*

The repeal itself merits your attention. Did you expect, and can you indeed approve an absolute toleration of Popery; a publick protection of popish bishops, seminary priests and Jesuits? Do you wish to see popish churches and popish schools erected in every corner of the land? Is the insolence of Papists, which is already felt, so agreeable that you wish for more *? Is their number so much diminished under our present laws, that you wish again to promote their growth?

An old act of privy council ratified in parliament 1600, c. 18. calls Jesuits and seminary priests, the common enemies to all Christian governments; and is not this character fully established, by the severe edicts of most Catholick powers in Europe, against the whole society of Jesuits? Shall we then receive
with

* In some parts of the Highlands, Protestants dare scarcely avow their sentiments, among such impudent and resolute assassins. And who is ignorant of the popish insolence, even in the chief cities of the kingdom, upon the mere hope of a repeal.

with open arms these off-scourings of the earth? Shall a Protestant country be an asylum to those miscreants which even Papists banish with infamy? Will we not repent it when we see these messengers of Satan, like the great adversary himself, going every where about seeking whom they may devour. Think of the dismal situation of many parishes, nay, almost counties in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, which even in this land of light, and under all our wise establishments for propagating Christian knowledge, are yet sunk in total darkness; led astray into grossest superstition and idolatry, by the indefatigable emissaries of the church of Rome *. Think of these things, and say, Would you wish to disappoint the charitable provisions of government, and of private Christians, for enlightening your fellow-creatures, your own poor dark deluded countrymen? Would you wish to raise a thicker cloud between them and the Sun of Righteousness?

And

* In the Account of the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, written by the late worthy Mr. Belsches advocate, and published by the Society in 1774, we have the following, among many other well authenticated facts of the same kind.—
 “ *South-Uist* parish, consisting of the islands of South Uist, Benbecula, and Erisca, is 30 miles long, and 5 broad; and contains about 2600 souls, of whom 2300 are Papists. There are two popish priests and a mass-house here.—*Barra* parish consists of the island of Barra, which is 5 miles long, and 2 broad, and of six other small islands; and contains about 1300 souls, of whom 1250 are Papists. A popish priest resides constantly here. In the time of Charles I. all were Protestants; but after the Restoration, this and the parish of Harris being united in one, and the then minister residing always in the latter, popish priests came into the former, and perverted almost the whole inhabitants.—*Moydart*, (a part of Ardsamurchan parish) is 16 miles long, and from 5 to 7 broad, and contains 860 souls, of whom 848 are Papists. *Arifaig* (a part of the same parish) is about 16 miles long and 7 broad, and contains 828 souls, of whom 824 are Papists. *South Morer* (also a part of it) is 14 miles long and between 2 and 3 broad, and
 “ contains

And is there not still another and most alarming consideration, which ought always to be remembered? If providence ever made signal and visible interpositions for any church or state, it hath been for ours.— Upon every dearest privilege which we now enjoy, an inscription may be written, *This is the doing of the Lord, and wondrous in our eyes.* In what light then must our present conduct appear? We have long been

“ contains 281 souls, of whom there is only *one* Protestant. A
 “ popish priest resides constantly in Arisaig, where a mass-house
 “ was built about ten years ago. Another priest resides constant-
 “ ly in Moydart; and a third resides usually in South Moror.”
 So that here are three popish priests to counteract the labours of
 one Protestant minister. A very unequal match indeed amongst
 ignorance and barbarity.—“ At *Scallan* in the Braes of Glenlivet
 “ (Inveraven parish) is a popish college or seminary, being the
 “ only one in Scotland; the number of students at which is in
 “ general from 8 to 12, most of whom are sons to *gentlemen* in
 “ the neighbourhood, and some of them become priests without
 “ going abroad. At present there are twelve students at this col-
 “ lege. About a century ago, the number of Papists in Glenlivet
 “ was so small, that they had no fixed priest. Since the erection
 “ of this college about 80 years ago, Popery hath made such *rapid*
 “ *progress* that there are now 1520 Papists in this and Kirkmichael
 “ the neighbouring parish. The situation of the college is peculiarly
 “ fitted for promoting Popery, being in the centre of 7 parishes,
 “ and 7 miles from each church. Besides a bishop who constant-
 “ ly resides at this college, there are generally 3, and often 6
 “ priests, who officiate in the several mass-houses in both parishes.
 “ —*Kilmanivaig* parish (which includes the whole Braes of Lo-
 “ chaber) is 25 miles long and 20 broad, and contains 2500 ca-
 “ techisable persons, of whom 1600 are Papists; two popish priests
 “ reside here.—At *North Moror* (in Glenelg parish) which con-
 “ tains 1030 Protestants and 1340 Papists, there is a popish aca-
 “ demy erected on the legacy of a lady in England. Last year
 “ there were at it 16 students, many of them gentlemen's sons.”—
 In about a dozen of these wild and extensive parishes, there are
 above 20 popish priests, many mass-houses, a publick popish col-
 lege and an academy. Does not this melancholy account rather
 require new laws, than a repeal of the old ones, for preventing
 the pernicious growth of Popery?

been ungrateful; but if now we seem avowedly to despise our mercies, is it not mocking God, and daring the Almighty to his face? Let the apostle's question, upon a similar occasion, make us all fear and tremble, and repent; *Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?* 1 Cor. x. 22.

A few HINTS on the CONSTITUTIONAL and PRUDENT METHOD of opposing any intended REPEAL of our PRESENT LAWS against POPERY.

“To petition the King is the right of every subject.” These are the express words of an article in the Claim of Right 1689. To remonstrate to the parliament is a right, which, from the very nature of our free government, every Briton must enjoy.—The method then of opposition to any dangerous law, is evident at once. Let individuals apply to king and parliament, expressing with plainness and respect their apprehensions on the subject, with the reasons why they entertain such fears.—This no doubt is one method of opposition, but it is not the only method; and though it may be the first which occurs to the mind in theory, it is perhaps not the first which should be put in practice.

Communities, corporations, bodies politick, and societies of every kind, are the most ordinary and proper addressers and remonstrants.—They have a name in law, and their sentiments are always and justly regarded by the government. Of such societies there are many in this kingdom, which ought explicitly to declare their sentiments on the present occasion.

Our ecclesiastical assemblies, as the natural guardians of the Protestant religion, hold the first place. The truly astonishing conduct of the late general assembly, when this matter was proposed to them, had indeed

deed a dreadful aspect *. But they were deceived, they did not know how much cause there was to be alarmed. And we are happy now to see that they were by no means a fair representative of the church of Scotland. A great majority of the provincial synods both in weight and number, have very freely declared their utmost abhorrence of any change in our laws and constitution for the sake of Popery †; and it is yet hoped the next general assembly will do the same. Few, but friends of a faction, were members of the last assembly. None but friends of Protestantism and presbytery should be members of the next.—For a long time after the Reformation, such a scheme as the present durst not have been proposed, without the church being consulted; and perhaps the conduct of the church herself is chiefly the cause of her being now neglected.

The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, on account of its very name, must here be mentioned. If the proposed repeal take place, their charters may be cancelled;—And surely the old royal bounty need not be continued to counteract the new law.

Royal boroughs and other incorporations will first feel the effects of publick licence being given to popish

* 28th May 1778. *Excidat illa Dies ævo; nec postera credant Sacula! Certe nos taceamus, et obruta multa Nocte tegi propriæ patiamus crimina gentis.*

† The fifteen synods in the church may be ranked in three divisions. *Bravely and explicitly against the repeal*, 9. viz. Dumfries, Galloway, Glasgow and Air, Perth and Stirling, Fife, Angus and Mearns, Moray, Ross, Glenelg; to which number, it is believed, the synod of Sutherland and Caithness, and perhaps some others, will soon be added.—*Neuter*, or rather *both for and against*, 1. viz. Lothian and Tweeddale.—*Silent*, caring for none of these things, 4. viz. Merse and Tiviotdale, Aberdeen, Argyle, Orkney. Matt. x. 32. 33. Matt. xii. 30.

popish churches*:—And universities ought certainly to do all they can to prevent popish schools.

But, in short, all the true Protestant inhabitants of Scotland, will, less or more, sooner or later, suffer for any encouragement that may be given to Popery; and all ought therefore, with one voice, to oppose it. So far as they are members, or have influence in any of the above societies, they should do their duty in that character: But though no better can be, they ought as individuals to take proper measures for their own and the national security.—On many occasions we have seen applications to government from individuals. Did not even Papists themselves in Summer last address the throne, and meet with a gracious reception? The present state of the British army may bear witness that, to our power, and much beyond our power, we have exerted ourselves in support of his Majesty and government, and shall we doubt our being at least heard in defence of our unquestionable rights†? At any rate, our applications are constitutional; and

* Since the first publication of this pamphlet, most of the royal boroughs, towns and incorporations, and even many counties, parishes, and private societies have with becoming spirit publicly declared their opposition to the proposed repeal. The News Papers have for weeks past been filled with advertisements to this purpose, and there are daily more received from every corner of the land. Thousands and tens of thousands have been forward to express their warmest attachment to our present happy constitution in church and state, and their utmost abhorrence of any encouragement being given to the irreconcilable foes of the gospel and of liberty. May we not yet hope that such a goodly number *take pleasure in the stones of our Zion, and favour the dust thereof*? May we not yet rejoice in the prophetic promise, from which this beautiful character is taken. Ps. cii. 13, 14. &c.

† Scotland hath furnished for the new levies much more than double all the rest of his majesty's dominions put together. How the Scots regiments were raised every one knows. Some of the chief encouragers of them have declared, and why should not government hear the declaration, that if this requital of their loyalty had been expected, these regiments would have been yet unraised.

and whether acceptable or not, they may be attended with success.—Though we should not have interest sufficient to obtain a *favour*, we may have interest sufficient to prevent a *wrong*. Those who will not court us, may yet be unwilling to alienate our affection. *Let us be of good courage; Let us quit ourselves like men*, like citizens of a free government, like Christians, like Protestants: Let us do our utmost *for our country, for our people, for the city of our GOD; and the LORD do that which seemeth him good.* 2 Sam. x. 12.

F I N I S.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

AS this Pamphlet was solely intended for the information of the publick, 2000 copies of it were printed, and distributed *gratis* to all concerned, and particularly transmitted to the Royal Boroughs, and other towns in Scotland. The danger is now universally apprehended, and Scotsmen have yet spirit enough boldly to assert their rights. A *gratis* distribution among private individuals, hath been attended with inconveniences, and in great measure disappointed its own intention, as it rather limits than enlarges the circulation. This impression therefore is to be sold for Sixpence each, and may be had of the Bookfellers in town and country.